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ANALYZING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL OUTCOMES OF TIBETAN REFUGEES LIVING IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

ANALYZING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL OUTCOMES OF TIBETAN REFUGEES LIVING IN INDIA

Opportunities of mass education are a relatively new phenomenon in the Tibetan community. Following the incidents of 1959, the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans fled into India. Mass education was implemented and sustained within the Tibetan community for the first time. The goal of this exploratory research is to study the impact of mass education on the first generations of Tibetans who experienced it in exile. This study analyzes the gendered pattern in subjects students choose to pursue, their educational attainment and the kinds of jobs they assume after graduation. The study presents a quantitative analysis of data spanning twenty years, which was collected by the head office of Tibetan Children's Village schools based in India. This study finds that gender is a significant predictor of whether one pursued higher studies, and also of what kinds of jobs people get. The results indicate that females have lower educational performance, attainment and occupational scores than males within the Tibetan community. This study also points to a change in gender relations within the Tibetan community after migrating into India.

KEYWORDS: Gender, Educational Achievement, Occupational Achievement, Minority, Tibetan Refugee

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May 1, 2011

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THESIS

TENZIN PALKYI

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
2011

ANALYZING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL OUTCOMES OF TIBETAN REFUGEES LIVING IN INDIA

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THESIS

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
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By

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Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Edward Morris, Professor of Sociology

Lexington, Kentucky

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This thesis is dedicated to the women of Tibet.

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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION & LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Immigrants, when they enter a host nation, are exposed to new sets of cultural beliefs, religious ideals and institutional systems. Immigrants usually tend to become minority groups in their host countries, and their ability to accommodate, acculturate or assimilate has fascinated researchers for a very long time. Groups become minorities for various reasons: some migrate to avoid religious or ethnic persecution in their home country, and some are forcefully brought into a new state, while some leave to take advantage of financial incentives elsewhere. Other ethnic groups become minorities due to a large number of people migrating into their homeland. Irrespective of how a group becomes a minority in a nation-state, their level of acceptance or rejection of the new state's cultures and beliefs has intrigued researchers for years.

A tremendous amount of attention is paid to examine the particular social and cultural traits that immigrant groups possess, and to explore their relation to the cultural traits of the majority. Researchers are specifically interested in minority groups' level of academic and economic success in the host nation (Conchas 2002a, 2002b; Fordham & Ogbu 1986; Gibson 1988; Gibson & Ogbu 1991). Attention has also been paid to the relative changes minority groups experience in their belief systems as a result of becoming a minority. But much of this enquiry has been focused on differences within and between minority groups in developed nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom.

Despite the broad ranging analysis of minority groups' experiences and level of achievements in the west, there has not been comparable scholarly attention paid to minority groups in non-western context. Minorities in non-western context are further complicated by the diverse and unique situations that lead a particular ethnic group to become a minority, and the differential social, political and economic conditions of the host country. Moreover, unlike in the west, many minority groups in a non-western context regard themselves as temporary immigrants, who are escaping ethnic, religious or political repression in their homeland. Many such refugees continue to harbor hopes to return to their homeland. This uncertainty of the duration of their stay in a host nation, coupled with the hosts' ability to meet the social and economic needs of refugees, render each refugee case unique and their experiences in a host nation distinctive. Refugee groups, based on the urgency and the seriousness of the humanitarian crisis they are undergoing, set different priorities regarding where to focus their resources. Thus, setting out long term educational goals for refugees are not necessarily an immediate priority for all refugee groups, and in some instances, not even feasible due to economic constraints.

Tibetan refugees, on the other hand, are unique in this aspect. Having lived in India for the past 52 years, Tibetans have enjoyed tremendous social, cultural and economic support from the Indian government. According the 2009 demographic survey conducted by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) based in India, there were a total of 127,935 Tibetans living outside of Tibet, comprising of 70,556 males and 57,379 females. Of the total population recorded, 94,203 Tibetans live in India; 13,514

in Nepal; 1,298 in Bhutan, and 18,920 elsewhere around the world (CTA Planning Commission 2009). Although researchers have analyzed educational experiences of Tibetans post its colonization by China, much of the existing literature on Tibetans' schooling experiences tends to be focused on Tibetans currently living in Tibet as one of China's 55 minority groups (Bass 1998, 2008; Longyan 2010; Postiglione 2009; Postiglione and Jiao 2009). This research addresses gaps in the existing literature through a quantitative analysis of educational and occupational trajectories of Tibetan refugees living in India. This study specifically examines gender differences in educational achievement, attainment and occupational path of Tibetans who live in India.

Literature Review:

The literature review will draw upon reproduction theory, which examines the role of schools in reproducing social inequalities. Since all the students in my data attended boarding schools, they spend over ten months at schools every year. Those who are unable to visit their homes spend the remaining two months at schools as well. The reproductionist theory clarifies the role the education system plays in reproducing societal inequalities. Theories pertaining to achievement of immigrants will also be discussed as Tibetan refugees have lived as immigrants in India for over half a century. The literature will then proceed on to the discourse of gendered educational and occupational attainment. This chapter will conclude by providing a historical and current account of gender norms/relations and mass education in the Tibetan culture.

Reproduction Theory:

A sociological theory that simultaneously seeks to explain and critique the educational system is called the "reproductionist theory". This theory states that the schools serve only to reproduce the social inequalities already existing in the society. The discourse surrounding the reproductionist theory is largely focused on studying how race and class are reproduced by schools (Bowles et al. 2002; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Lareau and Horvat 1999; Lleras and Rangel 2009; MacLeod 1995; Rist 2000; Willis 1977). This research also considers gender as a site of inequality that is reproduced by schools. The processes through which societal inequalities are reproduced through schooling are not necessarily intentioned by the schools or teachers. Students' cultural and social capital, parental involvement, the hidden curriculum, ability grouping in schools, and students' socio-economic backgrounds, are found to have strong impact on students' school experiences and achievements (Lareau 2000; Lareau 2003; Rist 2000).

One apparent reason for schools to function in this manner is that schools do not operate in isolation from the rest of the society and everyone who works in the educational system, from administrators to teachers and staff, are all members of their respective community; and they bring to school their beliefs and values, which are a result of the socialization they experienced as an individual. Schools are a microcosm of the larger society within which it is situated, and schools often serve as the means through which the larger societal norms and beliefs are passed to the next generation (Lleras and Rangel 2009; Rist 2000). These norms and beliefs usually include, but are

not limited to religious faiths, cultural traits, societal beliefs regarding race, class and gender.

Effects of Immigration, Acculturation & Assimilation on Educational Attainment and Achievement of Minorities:

In studying the case of educational and occupational trajectory of Tibetans living in India, a segment of literature that must be explored is educational experiences of those who either voluntarily or involuntarily migrated from their homeland. When people migrate to different countries, they are faced with a wide range of issues pertaining to unfamiliarity of the host nation. According to the UNHRC, as of June 2009, there were more than 42 million refugees and internally displaced people in the world. Eighty percent of those are in developing nations, which adds to the burden already carried by poorer nations (UN 2009). Thus, many of the host nations are not able to extend the full amount of financial assistance needed for refugees. Along the same lines, refugees also consider their stay in the host nations to be temporary, and continue to entertain the idea of returning home.

Due to the perceived temporary nature of refugees, and the limited funding received to care for them, more attention is given to the immediate needs of refugees such as safe refugee camps and daily meals than to long-term needs like proper education. Although, Tibetans living in India are technically refugees, their daily livelihoods and educational experiences are not directly comparable to the majority of the refugee groups around the world. I will discuss more about the reasons later.

In terms of discussing educational experiences of minorities, there has been a concerted effort in trying to explain why certain minority groups do better than others (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Gibson and Ogbu 1991). Researchers attempted to explain the differences in educational achievement of different minority groups by classifying minorities as either voluntary or involuntary (Conchas 2006; Gibson and Ogbu 1991). They argued that voluntary minorities, those who leave their home country voluntarily, tend to perceive educational opportunities in the host nation positively, which results in higher school achievement. Involuntary minorities, on the other hand, are those who are forced to be a part of a majority group who are distinctly separate from them. Thus, involuntary minorities tend to have a negative view of the host nation's educational system, and will tend to not work hard in school to resist assimilation. Although Tibetans did not immigrate to India with full choice, they were also not incorporated into India through force. Tibetans fled into exile to avoid persecution at home, and the voluntary nature of their immigration into India makes them a voluntary minority group.

The theory of voluntary and involuntary binary of minority groups does not get at the nuances of how minorities cope with the differing cultures, values and education systems of host nations. The following two perspectives on minority schooling, the cultural discontinuity theory and the structural inequalities theory, draw a deeper analysis and theorization of minorities' school performance. The cultural discontinuity theory highlights the relationship between the culture and language of the minorities and the schools. It theorizes that minorities are more at a disadvantage in schools, if their home culture, language, and skills are not useful in the host nation's education

system. The structural inequalities theory assumes that there are structural biases in the education system of the host nations that would either actively prevent or provide very little incentives for minority groups with low status within the host nations' socio-economic structure to excel in schools.

Much of the literature on minority schooling is focused on minority groups in the west, especially in the United States (U.S.). It is well documented that minorities who migrate to the U.S. do so in hopes of securing better livelihoods for themselves and their offspring. The voluntary nature of their migration to the U.S. is more likely to imbue them with positive attitude towards the education system here, and thus position them to succeed in schools (Conchas 2006; Gibson 1988). Gibson's ethnographic work on Sikh immigrants sheds light on the process and effects of accommodation, acculturation or assimilation of minorities into the host society. According to Gibson, Sikh immigrants in the U.S. regard education in the pragmatic sense of being a medium to a better livelihood.

For the purpose of this study, accommodation is to be understood as a process of mutual adaptation between groups in order to reduce conflicts and to allow distinct cultures to coexist; acculturation is to be understood as the process of change in culture as a result of different cultures coming into contact; and assimilation as the process of wholly incorporating one ethnic group into the other (Gibson 1988). Based on Gibson's study, the Punjabi Sikh immigrants in the U.S. are able to accommodate and acculturate without assimilating into the majority. The process of acculturating without assimilating

involves a consistent adherence to the values and beliefs of their religious and ethnic group.

Gender relations, like all human relations, "are malleable to all kinds of transnational influences" (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999:573). Gender norms and relations are not static irrespective of transnational migration or influences. Gibson's research revealed that the Sikh elderly leaned more towards accommodation, while the younger generation more towards acculturation. In terms of gender relations, the parent generation held strong to their customary beliefs regarding roles of both sexes, while the student generation seemed more influenced by U.S. gender norms. Both generations, it is found, want to maintain their separate Punjabi Sikh identity. "Their strategy is one of multilinear acculturation in which young people acquire competence in the dominant culture of this country while also maintaining their primary social identification within the Punjabi group" (Gibson 1988:170).

Gender norms within the Tibetan community in exile has also undergone changes due to mass immigration into India, but immigration's direct impact on customary beliefs of Tibetans regarding gender has not been studied extensively in an academic manner. It is not within the scope of this research to ascertain if Tibetans in India are also experiencing multilinear acculturation or not, but availability of mass education in itself along with female school attendance might point to the beginning of changing gender relations. Yet it is clear that equal access to education alone does not guarantee equitable gender outcome, as discussed in the section below.

Gendered Educational and Occupational Achievement:

A gendered analysis of educational and occupational achievement began only in the 1960s with the rise of second-wave feminism, which originated in the U.S. and Great Britian (Baxandall and Gordon 2000; Pierre 2000; Thompson 2002). Second-wave feminism expanded on first-wave's goals of women's rights to property ownership and suffrage. Second-wave was focused on securing equal rights for both sexes in multiple forms including education, union rights, work benefits and equal pay. The concern of feminists regarding education is that boys and girls are not treated equally by the education system (LaFrance 1991). Examining educational career and occupational choice through the prism of gender has revealed interesting patterns in the U.S. and other countries.

Based on the literature of gender and educational achievement in the west, it has been suggested that gender has deep seated influences on one's educational career, ranging from daily classroom interactions and body management (Ali 2003; Allan 2009; Buchmann et al. 2008) to academic performance (Lapointe et al. 1989; Spelke 2005; Murphy and Elwood 1998), to more direct educational decisions such as choice of major and subsequently to choice of career (Hubbard 2005; Turner and Bowen 1999; Eccles 1987; Eccles 1994). Before further discussion of gender differences in achievement, it must be acknowledged that there are vast differences in what constitutes achievement in various cultures and the differing ways of measuring it. This paper will proceed based on the general perception of occupations that are considered high achievement in the U.S.

Also, it must be mentioned that there are two broad theories that explain the differences in behavior between girls and boys: social constructionist view and innate biological view. Proponents of the social constructionist view maintain that people gain an understanding of their gender identities and learn to act according to their gender through socialization. Proponents of innately gendered view state that there is a difference in the "activity and structure" of male and female brains, which is the underlying foundation of the inherent gender differences in males and females (Francis 2006). From a sociological point of view, researchers assert the significance of understanding educational and career choices within the larger social framework of race, class and gender (Betz and Fitzgeral 1987; Ward and Bingham 1993; Davenport and Yurich 1991; Lent et al. 1994; McWhirter 1997; Sundal-Hansen 1985). Individuals are situated within the intersections of these social forces, and their choices regarding education and career are influenced by the social reality surrounding them.

The innumerable differences in social factors influencing choices of women around the world render any unitary explanation of mechanisms and/or patterns of gendered choices problematic. For the purpose of this study though, I will look at gendered patterns of educational performance, attainment and occupational choice mainly in the U.S. context.

Feminists in the U.S. relied heavily on federal legislations to pass laws for the protection of women's rights and to reduce gender discrimination in education and at work. There have been three main federal statutes enacted to protect and promote women in education: Title IX in 1972, the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) in

1975, and the Vocational Amendments Acts (VEA) in 1976 (Stromquist 1997). But gaps still remain between the intended and the actual outcomes of these legislations. The National Center for Education Statistics of the United States Department of Education published a report titled, *Trends in Educational Equity of Girls & Women: 2004*, which is a statistical study comparing education data from 1970 to 2001. The report stated that females were doing much better across all levels of education than they did in 1970. A simple comparison between boys and girls in school performance is not possible as there are significant differences when age is taken into account. Moreover, boys tend to do better on standardized tests, while girls get better grades (Buchmann et al. 2008). Although girls are doing better at school, their educational performance does not provide them a linear transition into the top ranking occupations. One of the reasons behind this is the subjects in which females choose to pursue higher studies.

Regarding students' subject choice, twenty years of study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) that researched knowledge of students from 9 –17 years old found boys and girls to have similar science and mathematics proficiency at age 9, but a gap in proficiency scores emerges at age 13, when boys become more proficient (U.S. Department of Education 1997). The gender gap in science and math performance has been well documented by other researchers as well (Buchmann et al. 2008; Davies and Brember 1995; Johnson and Murphy 1986). Longitudinal assessment conducted since the early 1990s by NAEP have also shown that female students tend to outperform males in reading and writing (U.S. Department of Education 2004).

Moreover self-assessed interest and enjoyment in science and mathematics is at a similar level for both genders up to 10th grade, but a gap in interest in the subjects appears by 12th grade, with females enjoying these subjects less. Watt (2006) found that students' self-perception of competency and expected success in math was a key predictor of whether or not they will choose math in high school course selections. On top of mathematics attitude, various other factors that were found to be significant in explaining the gendered choice of majors were: sophomore choice of major, race (Maple and Stage 1991), parental factors (Kutnick 1999; Maple and Stage 1991), gender role expectation (Ward and Bingham 1993; Davenport and Yurich 1991), gender role socialization (Betz and Fitzgeral 1987; Eccles 1994; Sundal-Hansen 1985), differences in SAT scores and career preferences (Farmer et al. 1999; Turner and Bowen 1999).

Differences in gendered educational choices can quite often set the pathway to gender differences in occupational outcome (Albelda 1986). A historical account of occupational segregation by sex in the U.S. has "remained quite constant from 1900 through 1970, although segregation in nonfarm occupations declined slowly" (Jacobs 1989:160) and so has patterns of gendered occupational segregation in United Kingdom (Blackburn et al. 1995). Women's entry into traditionally male occupations has increased since the 1960s, albeit at a slow pace (Albelda 1986; Beller 1985; Jacobs 1989). Researchers attempting to understand the mechanisms behind these patterns of gender differences in career choice point to personal interests (Bubany and Hansen 2010), individual and environmental influences (Bubany and Hansen 2010; Farmer 1985,

1987), expectations for success and value assigned to tasks (Eccles 1987, England 2010; 1994; Wigfield 1994).

Most of the theoretical frameworks that analyze educational and occupational stratification are initially borne out of research in developed countries (Buchmann & Hannum 2001). Although there are more researchers conducting comparative educational and occupational attainment research in developing countries currently, emphasis on gender stratification has been less compared to other forms of stratification: region (rural/urban), class, language, access and quality of education. Research in both developing and developed worlds has shown that gender matters in one's educational and occupational trajectories. This study explores whether gender is a significant determinant of school and career outcomes for Tibetan refugees living in India. In order to better contextualize this study, it is imperative to discuss gender norms in the Tibetan community.

A Historical Account of Gender Norms in Tibetan Community:

With the Himalayas on the west and an average elevation of 5000 meters, Tibet's insularity was initially geographically imposed and later voluntarily and remarkably maintained over the past couple hundred years. Tibet became known to the world and vice-versa in the late 1950s, only when the People's Republic of China (PRC) occupied Tibet, which led to thousands of Tibetans fleeing into exile. Misrepresentation

of Tibet as a mystical land and the Shangri-La[1] image drew much attention from the outside world from both scholastic and non-scholastic communities.

Historians and anthropologists alike have sought to understand women's status and roles in the ancient Tibetan society. Helga Uebach (2005) relies on the old Tibetan text[2] to draw upon the lives of women in Tibet from the seventh to ninth century when Tibet was ruled by kings. Uebach notes that female members of the Tibetan empire were only mentioned in relation to birth, death, and/or marriage ceremonies. Marriage was heavily employed to build alliances with neighboring kingdoms and to reduce eminent threats from other powerful clans within the kingdom.[3] From the annals, the genealogies and the chronicles, stretching over 300 years, Uebach was able to identify few female members of the Tibetan empire who were mentioned only as the mothers, wives, sisters or daughters of kings.

Although Tibetan society is patriarchal in nature, documents from the era demonstrate that female members of the empire were also allowed to own property and had freedom to become nuns if they so wished. The dearth of information relating to women or gender issues in Tibet prior to tenth century limits any analysis of gender

[1] James Hilton's book, *Lost Horizon* published in 1933, describes a fictional placed called Shangri-La in Tibet. In his book, Shangri-La is equated to paradise on earth that is completely cut off from the outside world and inhabited by almost immortal lamas.

[2] Uebach's primary sources are called the *Annals*, the *Genealogy* and the *Chronicle*. These texts were found hidden in a cave that was walled up in the mid-eleventh century. They were discovered only at the beginning of the twentieth century (Uebach 2005: 29).

[3] In the seventh century, the thirty third King of Tibet, Songtsen Gampo, acquired consorts from both China and Nepal to maintain peace with the neighboring countries. Songtsen Gampo also had a wife from a country called Zhangzhung, and his sister was married off to the Zhangzhung ruler as well to form double alliance. In the *Annals*, the consorts' personal names are granted less importance than their clan names, and the main reason for this practice is to reduce jealously and rivalry amongst powerful clans (Uebach 2005:32-33).

relation at the time. Also, the documents that were discovered speak, however limited in scope, only to the experiences of women in royal families. Their experiences cannot be extrapolated to include the experiences of non-royal women in the same era.

While biographical information on Tibetan women did not increase rapidly in later centuries, it was a definite improvement over the previous era. At least a few biographies exist on women who attained high Buddhist spiritual accomplishments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition to identifying the three best-known women during the era,[4] Dan Martin (2005) also identifies various women religious leaders who had been prophets, disciples of famous monks, lineage holders, teachers and nuns. Despite the limited literature found on female religious leaders of the eleventh and twelfth century Tibet, Martin notes that Buddhism was not a plain level playing field for both men and women to advance spiritually.

Gender Roles/Issues in Buddhism:

Buddhism has spread so deeply into every aspect of Tibetan culture that it is impossible to study Tibetan culture in isolation from Tibetan Buddhism. According to the Tibetan history, the 28th king brought Buddhism into Tibet in the fifth century from India. All subsequent kings sought to expand Buddhism in Tibet by inviting *dharma* teachers from India. The last king of Tibet, who tried to eradicate Buddhism from Tibet, was assassinated. This left a power vacuum in the center and two religious sects[5] ruled Tibet until the Dalai Lamas came into power in the fifteenth century. Thus, from the

[4] The three best-known female religious leaders during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were Machig Labdron, Machig Zhama and Nangsa Obum (Martin 2005:52-56).
[5] The Sakyapa sect ruled from 1254-1358 and the Phagmodru religious lineage ruled from then on to around 1434 (Goldstein 1968:16).

fifth century onwards, Tibet has been predominantly a Buddhist nation with a small percentage of Christians, Muslims and *Bonpos*.[6] Buddhism profoundly influences all aspects of Tibetan culture and life, including the medical and political systems.

Thus, the basic premise of how Buddhism treats women have to be vigorously examined in order to gain an in-depth understanding of gender issues in the Tibetan community. Janet Gyatso (2003) focuses attention upon a dialogue that supposedly took place between the Buddha and one of his disciples according to Buddhist texts. When the disciple, Änanda, asked the Buddha if women can join the *sangha*[7] community, the Buddha is said to have refused initially. However, he later relented and laid down eight conditions[8] for women to abide by before joining the monastic order. Also, Charlene Makley states that the male body is prized as an appraisal of one's better karma (merit) and the female body is considered a result of one's lower karma (Makley 2005). The literal translation of the Tibetan word for women, *key-man*, is inferior or lower birth. As Kurtis Schaeffer (2005) notes, this internalization of inferiority imposed upon the female body was made evident by the autobiography of a medieval hermitess, Orgyan Chokyi.[9] Chokyi equates a woman's body to samsära[10] and writes songs of

[6] Bonpos are those who follow the Bon religion, which flourished in Tibet before Buddhism.
[7] Sangha refers to the monastic order.
[8] The eight conditions came to be famously referred to as the "Eight Heavy Rules," which basically legislates "that all nuns must defer to all monks and accept them as their ritual and authoritative superiors, no matter what the discrepancies in seniority or merit" (Gyatso 2003: 91).
[9] Orgyan Chokyi was born in 1675 and died at the age of 55. Hers is one of the three or four autobiographies written by Tibetan women. There are over 150 autobiographies written by Tibetan men (Schaeffer 2005: 83).
[10] Samsära refers to suffering one has to endure through the continuous cycle of life and birth that can only be broken when one attains nirvana (enlightenment).

lamentation concerning having a woman's body and prays for a man's body in the next lives (Schaeffer 2005).

During the Maoist years between 1958-1978, and especially during the Cultural Revolution between 1966-1976, a form of state-sponsored feminism ensued. Much of traditional gender performativity was altered by the Chinese rule. Makley notes instances before 1948, where monastic officials fined women for wearing pants. During the height of the Cultural Revolution, state dictated public bodily performance, which included wearing "gender-neutral drab pants and shirts…state-regulated reproduction within monogamous marriage; and the dedication of all household members, including women, to "productive labor"" (Makley 2002:599). It was an era in which monasteries were forced to close down, and women were encouraged to leave homestead and seek wage-labor. This was a deliberate attempt by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to dissolve ethnic Tibetan gendered performance.

But, after the Cultural Revolution and Mao's death, Tibetans everywhere began to reform and regain the lost cultural heritage. Monasteries started re-opening and gender was re-negotiated in contemporary society. The abruptly imposed changes on Tibetan culture and community by CCP resulted in a public memory of an idealized Tibetan community existing prior to Mao. Makley refers to Tibetans being caught between "urgent [and defensive] conservative pressures and passionate aspirations for modernity" (Makley 2002:601). This was especially true for Tibetan women who were caught between increasing pressure of displaying a bodily performance of feminine

respectability and the aspirations of new possibility for social mobility in the post-Mao era.

More young women left home in search of wage labor, sought higher education, freely decided on their choice-of-clothing and chose their husbands independently (Makley 2002). This change was highly baffling for older generation Tibetans, and the defensive conservatism of the Tibetan community continued its insistence on returning to the old traditions of "proper" feminine performance by women. Not surprisingly, a lot of significance is attributed to the public performance of gender in Tibetan society. Tibetans saw gender performance and gender boundaries as a critical site upon which to reclaim the old traditions and to safeguard and preserve Tibetan ethnic identity. This "performative burden" fell unevenly on women as there were distinct norms dictating women's "speech, dress and physical distance from laymen and monastic bodies and spaces" (Makley 2002:606). Makley argues that "many Tibetans evinced a resolute conservatism about gender", and insisted on returning to a spatialized gender division that delegated inside household chores to women and outside chores to men (Makley 2005:264).

Gender Roles in Tibetan Politics:

The contemporary Tibetan political system before the government was forced into exile was definitely not fair in its gender representation. Melvyn Goldstein's study of the Tibetan political system in 1968 was timely as thousands of Tibetan refugees had crossed into India and that was the last generation who lived under the old Tibetan political system. Before 1959, the Tibetan government and its subsidiary

administrations in different areas were entirely run by men, with zero percent female representation (Shakabpa 1967). Lay aristocrat officials occupied the higher posts, and after their retirement, their sons would succeed them to similar posts in the administration. There were about 150 aristocratic families. Goldstein detailed how fathers went about training their young sons to take their positions in the future, but there is no mention of training girls for government posts.

The system was structured to protect and promote the traditional family power base and therefore allowed very little opening for reform. Women's entry into government would have faced opposition not only from the power structure but also from social and cultural norms and a society in general that relegated the job of homemaking permanently to women. Women's main role in that power structure seems to be to form social and political alliances through exogamous marriage.

A major breakthrough transpired in gender power sharing in exile since the establishment of the Tibetan exile government in India in 1959. Women occupy a number of posts in the Tibetan government offices, and female representatives in the Tibetan parliament have been increasing steadily since the inception of the Tibetan exile government in 1960. Furthermore, the first Tibetan woman was elected to a cabinet post[11] (Tib: *Kashag*) in 1990[12], and ever since there has been at least one woman in the eight available cabinet posts of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). These are indications of progress but there is still a huge gap in the gender ratio in the Tibetan

[11] Cabinets are the highest officials post in the Tibetan government in exile. The prime minister, the highest elected official will select his or her cabinet. Currently there are eight cabinet ministers.
[12] First Tibetan cabinet minister was Jetsun Pema, who was elected as the minister of Education and Health for the eighth Cabinet (May 1990 - July 1991).

exile leadership structure, which in itself is indicative of gender inequality. Consider the 2007 gender ratio of the Tibetan government in exile's officers:

Decision Makers (highest rank on top)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Cabinet	87	13
Member of Parliament	77	23
Secretary[13] Level	96	4
Additional Secretary	97	3
Joint Secretary	87	13
Deputy Secretary	84	16
Under Secretary	62	38

Source: Public Service Commission, Tibetan Government in Exile as of June 19, 2007.

A Historical Account of Mass Education of Tibetans:

Prior to the 1950s, most of the Tibetans were either subsistence farmers or pastoral nomads with few exceptions of business owners. As such, there was no system in place for mass education, and offspring basically gained entry into their parents' source of livelihood (Bernabei 2001). When Tibetans first started seeking refuge in India in the late 1950's, the 14th Dalai Lama, who is the spiritual and temporal political leader of Tibet, was adamant about keeping all the Tibetan refugees together. According to the United Nations, refugees are those who have a "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951). A Tibetan government in exile was set up, and the Indian government generously

[13] Secretary post is the second highest post in a ministry. For example, in the Ministry of Education, the Secretary post is second only to the Cabinet Minister of Education, which is the highest official post within that department. Secretary in the Tibetan government context is not to be confused with office secretaries in the west.

allocated huge plots of lands to set up refugee camps in different parts of India. The Indian government also arranged for schools called the Central School for Tibetans (CST) for the younger Tibetan refugees. Along the same vein, another school was started in 1960 called the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) by the Dalai Lama's sister, Tsering Dolma. While most CSTs are day schools, all TCVs are boarding schools.

Opportunities of mass education are a very new phenomenon in the Tibetan community. Before 1959 in Tibet, education curriculum was restricted to Tibetan scripts and Buddhist texts, and only those in monastic schools enjoyed the liberty of studying. A couple of attempts at introducing modern education in Tibet were swiftly thwarted. Yeshi mentions:

> "[i]n 1923, the 13th Dalai Lama opened an English School for boys. The Dalai Lama believed that an English-based education would help his people. However, the school was closed in 1929 due to pressure from the monasteries. The monasteries in Tibet held a great deal of power over Tibetan government policies and the content of Tibetan education. The representatives of the three monasteries…argued that an English type of education would harm Tibetan religion and culture. In 1944, another English school was opened again in Lhasa, but survived for only five months for the same reasons" (Yeshi 2001:22).

Education has been appropriately credited with empowering people and uplifting the lives of millions around the world who would otherwise have minimal chances of breaking out of poverty or improving their socio-economic status. Education impacts many spheres of our lives: financial, self-esteem, social standing etc, but for many of us, our chances at succeeding in education and emerging triumphant out of the education system are marginalized by the vagaries of our birth. Our race or ethnicity,

class, and gender determine where we start off in society to a large extent. The unique intersections of the various constituent parts of our identity, be it our religious background, skin color, socio-economic status, sexual orientation and gender has profound impacts on all aspects of our lives. With this rising significance attributed to formal education, Tibetans are also catching up with the rest of the world in making education available and affordable. Especially Tibetans living in India have the opportunity to send their children to school at either a very low or no cost at all. The following section discusses the educational system established for Tibetans in India.

Current Educational System in Exile: Case Study of Tibetan Children's Village (TCV)

From a humble beginning of being a nursery in 1959, the TCV has now flourished into an educational institution with nine schools scattered across India. All the TCV students go to one of the nine TCV schools in India: TCV Upper Dharamsala, TCV Bylakuppe, TCV Ladakh, TCV Suja, TCV Bir, TCV Gopalpur, TCV School Dharamsala, TCV Chauntra, and TCV Selakui. All the TCVs are boarding schools. Based on the 2009 Tibetan demographic survey, more than one-third of the Tibetans living in India, Nepal or Bhutan attended a TCV school (CTA Planning Commission 2009).

The TCVs, like majority of schools in India, follows the Indian education system. This '6-4-4 system' basically means six years for elementary school, four years for middle school and four years for high school. The main defining character of the Indian education system is that the Education department of India administers two nation-wide exams; one for tenth grade and one for twelfth grade. A school's reputation is based on how well their students do on these exams, specially the twelfth grade nation-

wide exam. If a school continuously produces poor grades on the twelfth grade exam for a few years, they even face the danger of being closed down. Thus, understandably so, the entire school curriculum is focused towards training students to be good test-takers. Since, the overall performance of the school depends on its students' scores on the tenth and twelfth grade nation-wide exams, TCV schools are bound by larger institutional rules of the host country, India.

Tibetan schools in India also serve the purpose of socializing its pupils into conventionally accepted cultural norms and beliefs (Maslak 2008; Yeshi 2001). In 1996, TCV schools translated all of its elementary school textbooks in Tibetan and started teaching all subjects in Tibetan except for English and Hindi language classes, and that was called the Tibetanization Project. The goal of the project was to teach Tibetan history and culture to refugees who were born outside of Tibet and to restore a sense of Tibetan identity (Yeshi 2001). Yeshi (2001) argues that refugees go through a "sense of alienation", when they leave their home and are enrolled in the educational system of the host country. The sense of alienation would be somewhat different for Tibetans from other refugees, as Tibetans do not have any experience of mass schooling in their country with which to compare the education system in India.

Regardless, as numerous researchers point out, refugees tend to deem education as very significant (Bernabei 2001; Kakkar 2000; Yeshi 2001). The 14th Dalai Lama started working on setting up schools for Tibetan refugees within a year of coming into exile in India. The main goal of having separate schools for Tibetans was to provide an education that would strengthen their Tibetan identity by teaching Tibetan culture,

religion, and language (Yeshi 2001). The Indian government has accommodated Tibetan refugees with separate schools to maintain their cultural heritage and identity without assimilating them.

Research Question:

As expected, there is not an abundance of literature particularly on the topic that I am researching. The articles and thesis or dissertations that I found focus on various aspects of Tibetan education system and policy. However, I will focus more on how gender influences educational experiences and outcomes in the Tibetan community to address this gap in literature. I graduated from Bylakuppe TCV in 2000, and I had gone to TCV School since kindergarten. Although my teachers were not overtly sexist, and they would inspire both boys and girls to do well in schools, there was a definite expectation from teachers for students to act according to the societal gender norms. There were harsher repercussions for female students who spoke back to teachers than male students. During physical education class, boys usually dominated the soccer field and girls played badminton. In retrospect, many of my teachers seem to entertain the 'boys will be boys' mentality. This is the first time TCV is attempting a mass data collection of all its graduates and this presents an exceptional opportunity for analyses and understanding impacts of education on the lives of Tibetan refugees.

The broad theme of the research is to study the educational tracks of TCV graduates, and the result of education in their lives. I am interested in figuring out if the relationships between ones' gender and educational attainment and outcome, as

suggested by various literature, hold true for Tibetans living in exile in India or not. My research examines the following questions:

1. Is gender a significant predictor of educational performance, attainment and outcomes for Tibetan refugees in India? This broad question considers the following specific queries.
    - In accordance to the Indian national education system, a stream (read: major) has to be declared after tenth grade. Thus, I propose to study if gender affects Tibetan students' choice of stream in India.
    - Does gender affect high school national exam scores?
    - Does gender have a bearing on whether or not students will go on to have a Master's degree or higher?
    - How does gender affect occupational outcomes?

Summary

This chapter has outlined theories and patterns of gendered achievements in educational and occupational careers. It also demonstrated that immigrants face unique obstructions to academic success owing to their minority status in the host nation and theories pertaining to it. I have also provided historical and current background information on gender norms in the Tibetan culture and availability of mass education for Tibetans. I have proposed to examine the educational and career trajectories of Tibetan refugees in India. In the next chapter, I will discuss the data, measures and analyses employed to answer the research questions above.

Chapter Two: DATA & METHODOLOGY

Data

In light of the Tibetan Children Villages' (TCV) fiftieth anniversary on October 23rd, 2010, the head office of TCV began collecting data on its alumni. The TCV head office currently has a total of nine high schools classified as its branches based in India: one school educates students until eighth grade, four schools until tenth grade and four until twelfth. All the TCV schools are boarding schools, and students get to go home for two months in the winter. A map of location of TCV schools in India, along with the year they became operational is attached as Appendix A. I conducted secondary data analysis on the data collected by the TCV's head office. They used two different questionnaires to collect data, and both forms are attached as Appendices B and C. They used the snowball method to reach respondents and were able to trace 4060 who attended one of the TCV schools. Most of their data collection happened via email and social networking sites. According to their records, 9436 TCV students sat for the nationwide tenth grade exam, and 5148 took the twelfth grade nationwide exam. Both these national exams are conducted by the Indian government's Central Board of Secondary Education. The data are mostly concerned with post-high school information on respondents including their educational pursuits after high school and current job placements. The data was collected between August 2008 and November 2010. Additional demographic information on those who filled out the survey completely was requested from the Head Office.

However, the percentage of people who filled out the survey completely was very small; close to 500 respondents had almost complete surveys. I received 442 of them, and within that group, there were 119 observations with missing data. Thus, this research is based on 323 of those alumni for whom I was able to get complete data. The extent of missing data was 27.38 percent for this study[14]. I compared socio-demographic and some other variables between the respondents and non-respondents, and did not find any systematic bias against one specific socio-demographic group. A listwise deletion of the 119 observations was used to tackle the missing data problem. Some of the reasons contributing to this low accurate response rate might be:

(i) Most importantly, those who designed the survey seem to lack expertise in survey design. The questions on both the questionnaires were not very clear. Some questions were not written in full sentences and due to their brevity, it was not clear what some of them were asking. There was also not enough space provided for some of the answers, especially the ones pertaining to educational institutes attended and educational degrees acquired after high school. Since much of their data was collected over the internet, some of the 'space' issues might have been negated as the respondents had freedom to create space once the questionnaire was downloaded.

[14] Due to the high percentage of missing data, mean imputation was employed to negate the extant of missing data. But the missing data were roughly scattered throughout multiple variables, and the mean imputing them inflated the regression results.

(ii) The second questionnaire used to collect data also serves as a form to make TCV picture identification cards for both alumni and staff. This lends to more confusion.

(iii) The third reason might be that respondents did not regard this as important and filled out the bare minimum of information and sent it back.

Measures

Gender: This is a dummy variable and is coded 1 if the respondent is female and 0 if male.

Socioeconomic Status Variables: Birthplace, payment of school fees and whether or not respondents leave for winter vacation are used as indicators of socio-economic status. Place of birth is coded 1 if the individual is born in Tibet and coded 0 if the individual is born outside of Tibet[15]. Payment of school fees is coded 1 if the individual's family paid school fees and coded 0 if they relied on sponsorship money for payment of school fees. Respondents who always leave school during the winter holidays are coded 1, while those who never go or only go sometimes are coded 0.

High School Related Variables: Choice of major, grade ten graduating school and high school graduating cohorts are employed to present respondents' high school related information. The education system in India mandates students to pick a major after tenth grade, and each respondents selection of majors were transformed in

[15] Theoretical basis for including this variable is not necessarily discerned by the way it is measured. This particular data only speaks to whether the samples were born in Tibet or not, and it does not address details regarding age of respondents when they moved to India, and whether or not they moved with their entire family or were sent with guides.

dummy variables. Three dummy variables were created based on three options of majors available[16]. The first dummy within this category was coded 1 if respondents selected Arts as their major, and 0 if they selected any other major. The same method was repeated for the other two majors: Commerce and Science.

Respondents' high schools were also turned into a series of dummies based on the school in which they completed tenth grade. Four different TCV schools were recorded, and dummy for each one was coded 1 if respondents had graduated tenth grade from that school and 0 if not. Finally, respondents were grouped into four cohorts based on when they graduated high school. Graduation years were grouped into the following four cohorts: 1983-1988, 1989-1994, 1995-1999 and 2000-2006. A dummy variable was created for each cohort, and it was coded 1 if respondents graduated high school with the cohort and 0 if not. Grouping students in cohorts will provide a sense of whether or not policy changes[17] in the TCV had an effect on educational attainment and outcomes. Additionally, age was dropped from the original models, as both age and the cohorts controlled for life course changes.

Educational Attainment and Occupational Outcome: Exam scores, degree attainment, and current employment are used as indicators of educational attainment and outcome. Respondents' average scores on their tenth and twelfth grade

[16] While English and Tibetan language classes are common to all three streams, rest of the subjects is different. Arts have the following three subjects: Geography, Political Science and Civics; Commerce has Business, Accounting, and Economics; and Science has Physics, Chemistry and Biology. Math is an optional subject to both Commerce and Science stream.

[17] TCV introduced some new policy changes in the mid-1990s that included requiring all teachers to having a teaching degree, which prompted some teachers to leave for a couple of years to get their teaching degree. TCV also started ability grouping for grades IX and X. Corporal punishment by teachers and other staffs in school were also banned towards mid to late 1990s, which have led to even termination of teachers from school.

nationwide exams conducted by Indian government's Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) are used in this study. The score is an average of respondents' scores on the five-subject CBSE tests, and it is an interval variable.

Another variable considers if the respondent has a Master's degree or higher, or a professional degree, and it is a dummy variable. The professional degree variable encompasses a vast field of disciplines, and it includes doctors, web and video editors, graphic designers, lawyers, physiotherapist, architects, engineers, chattered accountants and software engineers. All the respondents who have a degree in one of the afore-mentioned fields or a Master's degree or higher were coded 1 and others 0.

Two different methods were used to code occupational outcomes; one was to code occupation by score based on the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status (Ganzeboom et al. 1992), and second was to code occupation by type. ISEI assigns a score[18] to "271 detailed occupational categories within the framework of the International Standard Classification of Occupations" (ibid). The scores range from 10 to 90, with the lowest score assigned to agricultural and animal husbandry workers and the highest score given to judges. Occupation coded by scores is an interval variable.

[18] The authors' method of constructing the ISEI occupational scores was "to derive that scaling of occupations which optimally explains the relationship between education and income…The data used to estimate the scale was a pooled sample of 73,901 men aged 21—64 active in the labor force for 30 hours per week or more, extracted from 31 data sets from 16 countries" (Ganzeboom et al. 1992).

Employment	RECODED AS
Includes positions like doctors, web and video editors, graphic designers, lawyers, physiotherapist, architects, engineers, chattered accountants and software engineers, news anchor, business owners and higher managerial positions.	Technical/Managerial Work (1)
Includes positions like project officers, program assistants, section officers, office superintendent, general accountants, and researchers.	Tibetan Government Workers (2)
School teachers[19]	Teachers (3)
Registered Nurses	Nurse (4)
Includes positions like student, army, house wife, artist, beauticians, and monk.	Others (5)

On the other hand, occupation coded by type is a nominal variable. All the jobs are classified into five categories based on type, and the table above gives a clear record of all the jobs that were grouped under each category. These five job categories are coded 1 through 5 respectively, starting at the top of the table.

Analysis

Analyses in this study explore if there are any effects of gender on the respondents' educational attainment and occupational outcome, and whether or not the gendered effects are influenced by the socioeconomic status variables and the high school related variables. Ordinary least square (OLS) regression was used for the two interval dependent variables: twelve grade exam scores and occupational scores, whereas binary logistic regression (BLR) was employed to study the effects of the aforementioned independent variables on respondents' likelihood of earning a Master's

[19] It could not be deciphered from the data what level of class or what subjects they taught.

degree or higher, or a professional degree. For the remaining two dependent variables, choice of stream and occupation coded by type, I used a multinomial logistic regression (MLR) as the dependent variable is a nominal variable with more than two outcomes. MLR allowed me to compare multiple groups by running and adjusting for simultaneous binary logistic regressions. A discrete change plot was also drawn on the final multinomial logistic model.

A stepwise regression approach was used in all regression analyses employed in this study to identify predictors of educational attainment and occupational outcome, and to determine if gender is significantly associated with the dependent variables. All regression analyses presented in the next chapter have five models, which ascertain the effects of gender and many other independent variables on educational accomplishments. Model I includes gender and socioeconomic variables. Grade ten or twelve scores or having an advanced degree is added to model I in accordance with the particular dependent variable being regressed to determine whether educational attainment has a significant relationship with occupational outcome. In addition to the variables in model I, model II includes the high school choice of major, making the science major the reference category. Adding an independent variable controlling for choice of major allows me to verify if the effects of gender and socioeconomic factors on the dependent variables are explained by difference in major selection, or if they remain significant irrespective of including the new variable.

On top of gender and the socioeconomic variables, model III includes high school graduating cohort variable, making cohort4, those who graduated from 2000-2006, the

reference category. Including this variable allows me to control for the changes in educational facilities and the educational policies that different cohorts were exposed to in TCV schools. Model IV includes high schools that respondents completed class ten from, on top of gender and socioeconomic variables. This additional variable controls for the different geographical locations and possibly different educational facilities[20] of the TCV schools. Finally, Model V includes all the independent variables simultaneously. This allows me to determine if gender still remains significant despite controlling for all the independent variables.

Summary

The second chapter described the data and specific variables employed in this study. Details of how variables were coded and the kinds of analyses performed were also presented. The next chapter will present the descriptive statistics and the results of the analyses performed.

[20] Although, TCV's head office would not acknowledge difference in facilities amongst the different TCV schools, there are bound to be differences based on how old the schools are, experiences of teachers, whether the schools are up to tenth or twelfth grade, and location of the schools etc.

Chapter Three: RESULTS

Full Sample Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics on independent and dependent variables for the analysis sample (N=323). Both genders are evenly represented in the sample with 46% females, and the mean age is 34 years old. Less than half the sample was born in Tibet (35%), while just over a quarter pay school fees (28%). Average tenth grade and twelfth grade scores of the sample are 54% and 58% respectively, and over one-third of the sample has a Master's degree or advanced or professional degree (34%). Regarding their high school choice of major, 44% chose Arts, while 27% and 29% chose Commerce and Science respectively. The ISEI occupational score of respondents ranged from 32 to 88 with a mean of 64.

Regarding occupation by type, a quarter of the sample has the top technical or managerial work, while over one-third are government employee (35%). Close to a quarter of the sample are teachers (23%), while 8% are nurses, and remaining 10% belong to the other category.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean/%	SD	Range	Female (Mean/%)	Male (Mean/%)	X^2/t
Female	46.44	—	—	—	—	—
Age (years)	33.86	5.30	24-49	33.69	34.01	0.54
Tenth Grade Scores	54.29	11.83	28-102.2	52.11	56.17	3.12**
Twelfth Grade Scores	58.48	9.83	29-81.2	56.94	59.82	2.65**
Education (years)	16.52	1.41	13-22	16.38	16.64	1.64
Born in Tibet (1=yes; 0=no)	34.67	—	—	24.67	43.35	12.38***
School Fees Self-paid (1=yes; 0=no)	28.17	—	—	39.33	18.50	17.24***
Always Leave for Vacation (1=yes; 0=no)	42.72	—	—	52.67	34.10	11.31**
Master's Degree or Higher (1=yes; 0=no)	33.75	—	—	23.33	42.77	13.58***
Current Employment (by score)	63.84	10.73	32-88	61.90	65.53	3.03***
Graduating School Class Ten						5.55
Bylakuppe TCV	9.60	—	—	8.00	10.98	
Ladakh TCV	11.76	—	—	10.67	12.72	
Lower TCV	22.91	—	—	28.67	17.92	
Upper TCV	55.73	—	—	52.67	58.38	
High School Graduating Cohort						0.90
Cohort1 (1983-1988)	8.67	—	—	7.33	9.83	
Cohort2 (1989-1994)	19.81	—	—	20.67	19.08	
Cohort3 (1995-1999)	44.58	—	—	46.00	43.35	
Cohort4 (2000-2006)	26.93	—	—	26.00	27.75	
Current Employment (by type)						39.51***
Technical/Managerial Worker	24.77	—	—	14.67	33.53	
Tibetan Government Worker	34.98	—	—	33.33	36.42	
Teacher	22.91			30.00	16.76	
Nurse	7.43	—	—	14.67	1.16	
Others	9.91	—	—	7.33	12.14	
High School Major						20.50***
Arts	43.96	—	—	57.33	32.37	
Commerce	26.63	—	—	19.33	32.95	
Science	29.41	—	—	23.33	34.68	

**=p<.01; ***=p<.001
Note: Percentage might not add up to 1 due to rounding.

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models (OLS)

Twelfth Grade National Exam Scores

Table 2: OLS Regression of Factors Affecting Twelfth Grade National Exam Scores on Selected Independent Variables

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Female[1]	-2.69 (1.15)*	-2.61 (1.10)*	-1.76 (1.03)	-2.37 (1.14)*	-1.63 (1.00)
Tenth Grade Scores	0.08 (0.05)	0.19 (0.05)***	0.33 (0.05)***	0.11 (0.05)*	0.38 (0.05)***
Born in Tibet[2]	1.25 (1.45)	0.17 (1.37)	-0.49 (1.34)	2.94 (1.54)	-0.37 (1.38)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	-0.33 (1.78)	1.67 (1.70)	-1.67 (1.60)	3.04 (2.16)	2.17 (1.90)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	2.30 (1.82)	1.57 (1.71)	0.50 (1.67)	0.56 (1.88)	-0.11 (1.64)
High School Major					
Arts		5.01 (1.35)***			3.62 (1.23)**
Commerce		10.16 (1.51)***			8.29 (1.45)***
High School Graduating Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			-20.97 (2.31)***		-18.32 (2.33)***
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			-4.27 (1.46)**		-2.42 (1.44)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			-3.42 (1.20)**		-3.68 (1.16)**
Graduating School Class Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				5.75 (2.00)**	1.75 (1.80)
Ladakh TCV				5.21 (2.06)*	1.72 (1.82)
Lower TCV				0.12 (1.54)	-1.90 (1.36)
R^2	0.04	0.16	0.24	0.07	0.32
F	2.33*	8.36***	12.15***	2.91**	11.37***

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Unstandardized coefficients are presented, standard errors in parentheses

Table 2 presents results for the OLS regression of twelfth grade exam scores on selected independent variables. According to Model I, on average, being female is associated with scoring 2.69 points less on twelfth grade national exams than male, holding all else constant (p<.05). Model II and IV supports the finding as being female

compared to male, holding all else constant, is associated with scoring 2.61 points less ($p<.05$) and 2.37 points less ($p<.05$), respectively, on average. Although, the association between gender and exam scores remain consistent in Model III and V, they are not statistically significant.

Tenth grade exam scores are shown to be statistically significant in all models except for Model I. According to Model II through IV, one point increase in tenth grade scores, on average, is associated with significantly increasing twelfth grade scores, holding all else equal ($b=.19$, $p<.001$; $b=.33$, $p<.001$; $b=.11$, $p<.05$; and $b=.38$, $p<.001$, respectively). Model II also indicates that choosing Arts or Commerce as compared to Science as high school major significantly increases twelfth grade exam scores, net the controls ($b=5.01$, $p<.001$ and $b=10.16$, $p<.001$, respectively). According to Model III, graduating in an earlier cohort, cohort 1 through 3 as compared to cohort 4, holding all else equal, is associated with significantly lowering twelfth grade scores on average ($b=-20.97$, $p<.001$; $b=-4.27$, $p<.01$; and $b=-3.42$, $p<.01$, respectively)[21].

Model IV indicates that holding all else constant, finishing tenth grade from Bylakuppe TCV and Ladakh TCV as compared to completing class ten from Upper TCV, on average, significantly increases class twelve exam scores ($b=5.75$, $p<.01$; and $b=5.21.$, $p<.05$, respectively). According to Model V, on average, choosing Arts or Commerce as compared to Science as high school stream significantly increases twelfth grade exam scores, all else equal ($b=3.62$, $p<.01$ and $b=8.29$, $p<.001$, respectively). Model V also

[21] Three interaction terms between female and cohorts 1 through 3 were created, and added to both Model III and V to verify if there were any significant association between female and cohort variables. All the interaction variables were not significant, which also suggest that there were not significant changes in gender gap in twelfth grade exam scores overtime.

indicates that cohort 1 and 3, as compared to cohort 4, holding all else equal, is associated with significantly lowering twelve scores on average (b=-18.32, p<.001; and b=-3.68, p<.01, respectively).

Occupation by Score Based on the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI)

Table 3: OLS Regression of Occupational Scores on Selected Independent Variables

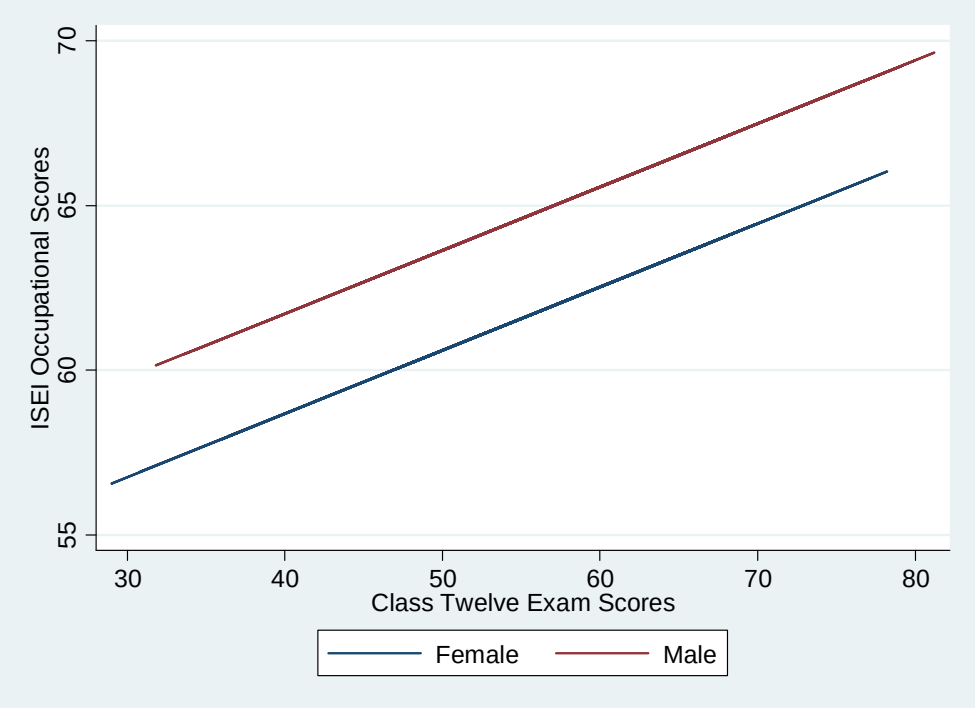
	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Female[1]	-2.95 (1.24)*	-2.91 (1.29)*	-3.02 (1.25)*	-2.91 (1.24)*	-2.86 (1.29)*
Twelfth Grade Scores	0.19 (0.06)**	0.19 (0.06)**	0.18 (0.06)**	0.18 (0.06)**	0.18 (0.07)**
Born in Tibet[2]	-0.41 (1.56)	-0.39 (1.59)	-0.73 (1.64)	0.36 (1.66)	0.37 (1.79)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	-1.45 (1.91)	-1.51 (1.98)	-1.39 (1.93)	-0.54 (2.38)	-0.56 (2.44)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	0.75 (1.93)	0.78 (1.95)	0.37 (2.02)	-0.35 (2.03)	-0.43 (2.10)
High School Major					
Arts		-0.19 (1.48)			-0.46 (1.54)
Commerce		-0.15 (1.73)			-0.61 (1.89)
High School Graduating Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			-1.02 (2.51)		0.23 (2.74)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.17 (1.78)		0.65 (1.86)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.54 (1.50)		0.57 (1.54)
Graduating School Class Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				3.20 (2.20)	3.31 (2.31)
Ladakh TCV				3.09 (2.23)	3.26 (2.34)
Lower TCV				2.16 (1.70)	2.15 (1.75)
R^2	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07
F	4.03**	2.86**	2.56*	3.04**	1.86*

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Unstandardized coefficients are presented, standard errors in parentheses

Table 3 presents results for the OLS regression of ISEI occupational scores on select independent variables. Except for gender and exam score, there are no significant effects found for any of the independent variables included in all Models.

According to Model I through V, being female compared to male, holding all else constant, is associated with scoring significantly less on ISEI occupational scores on average (b=-2.95, p<.05; b=-2.91, p<.05; b=-3.02, p<.05; b=-2.91, p<.05; and b=-2.86, p<.05 respectively). Additionally, one point increase in twelfth grade scores, on average, is associated with significantly increasing ISEI occupational scores in Models I through V, holding all else equal (b=.19, p<.01; b=.19, p<.01; b=.18, p<.01; b=.18, p<.01; and b=.18, p<.01, respectively).

Figure 1: Gendered Effects of Exam Scores on Occupational Scores



Since, twelfth grade exam scores were shown to be significant throughout all five Models, I wanted to see if there were gendered differences in how twelfth grade scores were affecting ISEI occupational scores. The graph above shows that the impact of one point increase in twelfth grade exam scores is constant across both genders and the

only difference is the intercepts. It means that even with an exam score of zero, men are expected to have a higher occupational score than women. The effect of gender is consistent across twelfth grade exam scores, in that a male with any given score is always expected to have higher occupational scores than a woman with an equal exam scores.

Binary Logistic Regression Models (BLR)

Table 4: Binary Logistic Regression of likelihood of having a Master's degree or higher and/or a Professional Degree on Selected Independent Variables.

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Female[1]	0.36 (0.10)***	0.41 (0.12)**	0.37 (0.11)***	0.35 (0.10)***	0.40 (0.12)**
Twelfth Grade Scores	1.05 (0.01)***	1.06 (0.02)***	1.06 (0.12)***	1.06 (0.01)***	1.06 (0.02)***
Born in Tibet[2]	0.58 (0.20)	0.61 (0.21)	0.68 (0.25)	0.46 (0.17)	0.53 (0.23)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	2.24 (0.96)	1.90 (0.84)	2.18 (0.94)	1.37 (0.72)	1.18 (0.64)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	0.57 (0.25)	0.61 (0.27)	0.69 (0.31)	0.71 (0.33)	0.84 (0.40)
High School Major					
Arts		0.57 (0.18)			0.60 (0.20)
Commerce		0.64 (0.24)			0.76 (0.31)
High School Graduating Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			1.57 (8.23)		1.05 (0.60)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.86 (0.32)		0.78 (0.31)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.72 (0.23)		0.68 (0.23)
Graduating School Class Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				0.51 (0.25)	0.57 (0.30)
Ladakh TCV				0.46 (0.23)	0.48 (0.25)
Lower TCV				1.06 (0.39)	1.11 (0.43)
LRX[2]	37.20***	40.42***	39.83***	40.89***	45.13***
Adjusted Count R^2	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.11

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Odd ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

Table 4 presents results for the binary logistic regression of likelihood of completing an advanced or a professional degree on select independent variables. There are no significant effects found for any of the independent variables included in all Models, except for gender and exam score, which stay significant throughout all Models. On average, the odds of completing an advanced or a professional degree are estimated to significantly decrease for female relative to male, holding all else constant throughout Models I to V (OR=.36, p<.001; OR=.41, p<.01; OR=.37, p<.001; OR=.35, p<.001; and OR=.40, p<.01, respectively). On the other hand, all else constant, the odds of completing an advanced or a professional degree are estimated to significantly increase for every one unit increase in average score of twelfth grade exams, on average from Model I through V (OR=1.05, p<.001; OR=1.06, p<.001; OR=1.06, p<.001; OR=1.06, p<.001; and OR=1.06, p<.001, respectively).

I also ran predicted probabilities on achieving Master's degree or higher and/or professional degree by all possible combinations of gender and country of birth. Holding age and twelfth grade exam scores at mean, females born in Tibet have a predicted probability of 18 percent to complete a Master's degree or higher, while females born outside of Tibet have a slightly higher predicted probability of 26 percent to obtain a higher educational degree. Likewise, males born in Tibet have a predicted probability of 34 percent to complete a Master's degree or higher, while males born outside of Tibet have a predicted probability of 45 percent to finish a Master's degree or higher.

Multinomial Logistic Regression Models (MLR)

Choice of Major

Table 5 presents results for the multinomial logistic regression of odds of choosing Arts as high school major compared to choosing Commerce or Science on select independent variables. All else equal, being a female compared to male, on average, is estimated to significantly decrease the odds of choosing either Commerce or Science compared to choosing Arts across all Models. Being a female compared to male, holding all else constant, is estimated to decrease the odds of choosing Commerce, on average, by 61 percent ($p<.01$) across all four Models. Likewise, being a female compared to male, holding all else constant, is estimated to decrease the odds of choosing Science, on average, by 61 percent ($p<.01$), 64 percent ($p<.01$), 63 percent ($p<.01$), and 65 percent ($p<.01$) across Models I through IV, respectively. Holding all else constant, one point increase in tenth grade score, on average, is estimated to significantly increase the odds of choosing Science compared to Arts through Model I to IV (RRR=1.08, $p<.001$; RRR=1.07, $p<.001$; RRR=1.01, $p<.001$; and RRR=1.07, $p<.001$, respectively).

According to Model I and II, self-payment of school fees compared to those who rely on sponsorship services, on average, is estimated to increase the odds of choosing Science compared to Arts by 315 percent and 320 percent, net the controls (RRR=4.15, $p<.05$; and RRR=4.20, $p<.01$, respectively). Interestingly, Model II and IV indicate that graduating with cohort 2 compared with cohort 4, on average, is estimated to significantly decrease the odds of choosing Commerce compared to Arts, holding all else

constant (RRR=.06, p<.001; and RRR=.06, p<.001, respectively). According to Model III, being born in Tibet compared to being born outside of Tibet, on average, is estimated to increase the odds of choosing Commerce compared to Arts by 133 percent, all else equal (p<.05). Likewise, Model III also indicates that having finished tenth grade from Bylakuppe TCV compared to graduating from Upper TCV, holding all else constant, is estimated to increase the odds of choosing Commerce compared to Arts by 223 percent, on average (p<.05).

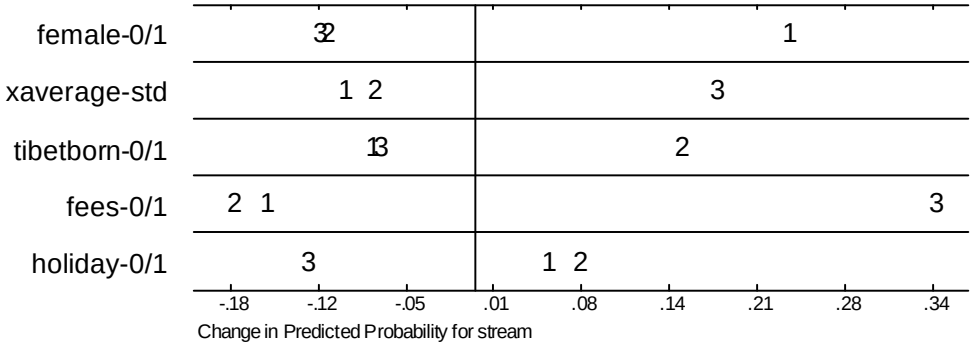
Table 5: Multinomial Logistic Regression of Choice of Major on Selected Independent Variables.

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV
Arts (Base Outcome)				
Commerce				
Female[1]	0.39 (0.12)**	0.39 (0.13)**	0.39 (0.12)**	0.39 (0.13)**
Tenth Grade Scores	0.99 (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)	0.99 (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)
Born in Tibet[2]	2.03 (0.75)	1.67 (0.68)	2.33 (0.98)*	1.73 (0.80)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	0.61 (0.30)	0.54 (0.28)	0.73 (0.45)	0.52 (0.34)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	1.19 (0.54)	0.83 (0.40)	1.11 (0.53)	0.94 (0.49)
High School Graduating Cohort				
Cohort1 (1983-1988)		4.60 (0.00)		2.60 (0.00)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)		0.06 (0.05)***		0.06 (0.05)***
Cohort3 (1995-1999)		1.70 (0.58)		1.53 (0.53)
Graduating School Class Ten				
Bylakuppe TCV			3.23 (1.62)*	1.83 (0.98)
Ladakh TCV			0.90 (0.50)	0.64 (0.38)
Lower TCV			1.14 (0.51)	0.99 (0.49)
Science				
Female[1]	0.39 (0.12)**	0.36 (0.12)**	0.37 (0.12)**	0.35 (0.11)**
Tenth Grade Scores	1.08 (0.02)***	1.07 (0.02)***	1.01 (0.02)***	1.07 (0.02)***
Born in Tibet[2]	0.88 (0.36)	0.96 (0.41)	0.74 (0.33)	0.81 (0.38)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	4.15 (2.29)*	4.20 (2.30)**	3.09 (2.02)	3.20 (2.09)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	0.54 (0.31)	0.63 (0.37)	0.66 (0.40)	0.70 (0.43)
High School Graduating Cohort				
Cohort1 (1983-1988)		2.22 (1.44)		1.91 (1.32)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)		1.11 (0.47)		1.04 (0.45)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)		1.31 (0.51)		1.30 (0.52)
Graduating School Class Ten				
Bylakuppe TCV			0.42 (0.31)	0.53 (0.41)
Ladakh TCV			0.62 (0.37)	0.69 (0.43)
Lower TCV			0.90 (0.36)	1.00 (0.41)
LRX^2	98.65***	151.61***	111.07***	157.02***
Pseudo R^2	0.14	0.22	0.16	0.23

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Relative risk ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

A discrete change plot is provided below for the variables in Model I. The effects of payment of fees are the largest as it increases the predicted probability of choosing Science as high school major and decreases the predicted probability of studying Arts or Commerce compared to those who do not pay fees. The effects of gender are the second largest, as being female increases the predicted probability of choosing Arts and decreases the predicted probability of choosing the other two subjects, relative to men. One standard deviation increase in tenth grade test scores increases the predicted probability of choosing Science for major, while it decreases the predicted probability of choosing the remaining two subjects. Being born in Tibet increases the predicted probability of choosing Commerce subject and decreases the predicted probability of picking Science or Arts, as compared to being born elsewhere. Always leaving for holidays increases the predicted probability of choosing Arts or Commerce and decreases the predicted probability of picking Science as high school major compared to those who do not go home during holidays.

Discrete Change Plot:



Occupation by Type

Table 6-1 presents results for the multinomial logistic regression of odds of having a technical or managerial work compared to being a government employee on select independent variables. All else equal, being a female compared to male, on average, is estimated to significantly increase the odds of being a government employee as compared to having a technical or managerial work as indicated by Model I, III and IV by 103 percent ($p<.05$); 96 percent ($p<.05$); and 108 percent ($p<.05$), respectively. Having an advanced or a professional degree compared to not having one, on average, is estimated to significantly decrease the odds of being a government employee as compared to having a technical or managerial work across all Models from I to V, all else constant (RRR=.48, $p<.05$; RRR=.49, $p<.05$; RRR=.45, $p<.05$; RRR=.49, $p<.05$; and RRR=.46, $p<.05$, respectively).

According to Model II, holding all covariates constant, choosing Arts and Commerce compared to Science, on average, is estimated to increase the odds of becoming a government employee as compared to having a top managerial position by 271 percent ($p<.01$) and 258 percent ($p<.01$) respectively. Model III indicates graduating with cohort 1 and 2 compared with cohort 4, holding all else constant, is estimated to decrease the odds of having a government employee position compared to having a technical or managerial work by 89 percent ($p<.01$) and 61 percent ($p<.05$) respectively. As in Model V, choosing Arts compared to picking Science, on average, is estimated to increase the odds of becoming a government employee as compared to having a top managerial position by 224 percent, all else equal (RRR=3.24, $p<.01$); whereas

graduating with cohort 1 compared to cohort 4, on average, is estimated to decrease the odds of becoming a government employee as compared to having a top managerial position by 84 percent, holding all else equal (RRR=.16, p<.05).

Table 6.1: Stepwise Multinomial Logistic Regression of Employment by Type (Government Employees) on Selected Independent Variables

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Technical/Managerial Work (Base Outcome)					
Government Employees					
Female[1]	2.03 (0.68)*	1.56 (0.55)	1.96 (0.67)*	2.08 (0.70)*	1.59 (0.56)
Master's Degree or Higher	0.48 (0.15)*	0.49 (0.16)*	0.45 (0.14)*	0.49 (0.15)*	0.46 (0.15)*
Born in Tibet[2]	0.86 (0.35)	0.72 (0.30)	0.71 (0.31)	1.05 (0.45)	0.69 (0.34)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	0.63 (0.31)	0.96 (0.49)	0.58 (0.29)	1.11 (0.67)	1.17 (0.74)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	1.11 (0.55)	0.89 (0.46)	0.89 (0.48)	0.91 (0.48)	0.75 (0.43)
High School Major					
Arts		3.71 (1.47)**			3.24 (1.33)**
Commerce		3.58 (1.52)**			2.32 (1.10)
High School Graduating Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			0.11 (0.08)**		0.16 (0.13)*
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.39 (0.18)*		0.38 (0.19)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.57 (0.23)		0.64 (0.26)
Graduating School Class Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				1.38 (0.76)	0.84 (0.49)
Ladakh TCV				2.12 (1.32)	1.33 (0.88)
Lower TCV				0.70 (0.31)	0.55 (0.25)
LRX^2	88.48***	116.83***	115.39***	103.37***	146.60***
Pseudo R^2	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.15

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Relative risk ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

Table 6-2 presents results for the multinomial logistic regression of odds of having a technical or managerial work compared to becoming a teacher on select independent variables. Except for gender and having an advanced degree, there are no significant effects found for any of the independent variables included in all Models.

Table 6.2: Stepwise Multinomial Logistic Regression of Employment by Type (Teachers) on Selected Independent Variables

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Technical/Managerial Work (Base Outcome)					
Teachers					
Female[1]	3.78 (1.43)***	3.06 (1.19)**	3.84 (1.48)***	3.92 (1.50)***	3.38 (1.35)**
Master's Degree or Higher	0.15 (0.06)***	0.16 (0.07)***	0.14 (0.06)***	0.15 (0.07)***	0.15 (0.07)***
Born in Tibet[2]	0.56 (0.26)	0.57 (0.27)	0.56 (0.27)	0.74 (0.37)	0.80 (0.43)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	0.51 (0.29)	0.63 (0.37)	0.47 (0.27)	0.88 (0.63)	0.88 (0.65)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	0.69 (0.39)	0.64 (0.37)	0.68 (0.41)	0.51 (0.31)	0.51 (0.32)
High School Major					
Arts		1.96 (0.84)			1.82 (0.82)
Commerce		1.08 (0.54)			0.77 (0.43)
High School Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			0.45 (0.30)		0.68 (0.52)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.35 (0.19)		0.32 (0.19)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.53 (0.25)		0.65 (0.31)
Graduating School Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				1.45 (0.93)	1.39 (0.96)
Ladakh TCV				3.29 (2.22)	3.01 (2.20)
Lower TCV				1.08 (0.54)	1.01 (0.53)
LRX^2	88.48***	116.83***	115.39***	103.37***	146.60***
Pseudo R^2	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.15

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Relative risk ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

All else equal, being a female compared to male, on average, is estimated to significantly increase the odds of becoming a teacher as compared to having a technical

or managerial work as indicated by Models I through V, all else constant (RRR=3.78, p<.001; RRR=3.06, p<.01; RRR=3.84, p<.001; RRR=3.92, p<.001; and RRR=3.38, p<.01, respectively). On the other hand, having an advanced or a professional degree compared to not having one, on average, is estimated to significantly decrease the odds of being a teacher as compared to having a technical or managerial work across all Models from I to V, all else constant (RRR=.15, p<.001; RRR=.16, p<.001; RRR=.14, p<.001; RRR=.15, p<.001; and RRR=.15, p<.001, respectively).

Table 6-3 presents results for the multinomial logistic regression of odds of having a technical or managerial work on select independent variables. There are no significant effects found for any of the independent variables included in all Models except for gender and having an advanced degree. All else equal, being a female compared to male, on average, is estimated to significantly increase the odds of becoming a nurse as compared to having a technical or managerial work as indicated by Models I through V, all else constant (RRR=25.71, p<.001; RRR=29.21, p<.001; RRR=27.94, p<.001; RRR=24.23, p<.001; and RRR=28.40, p<.001, respectively). On the other hand, having an advanced or a professional degree compared to not having one, on average, is estimated to significantly decrease the odds of becoming a nurse as compared to having a technical or managerial work across all Models from I to V, all else constant (RRR=.14, p<.01; RRR=.12, p<.01; RRR=.14, p<.01; RRR=.14, p<.01; and RRR=.13, p<.01, respectively).

Table 6-3: Stepwise Multinomial Logistic Regression of Employment by Type (Nurses) on Selected Independent Variables (N=323)

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Technical/Managerial Work (Base Outcome)					
Nurses					
Female[1]	25.71 (20.72)***	29.21 (23.86)***	27.94 (22.89)***	24.23 (19.59)***	28.40 (23.43)***
Master's Degree or Higher	0.14 (0.10)**	0.12 (0.09)**	0.14 (0.10)**	0.14 (0.10)**	0.13 (0.09)**
Born in Tibet[2]	0.67 (0.44)	0.66 (0.46)	0.90 (0.63)	0.60 (0.41)	0.69 (0.52)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	1670728 (1.16)	2149862 (1.86)	784143 (4.11)	1223956 (1.03)	1572257 (1.45)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	3.24 (0.00)	2.44 (0.00)	8.71 (0.00)	5.34 (0.00)	4.23 (0.00)
High School Major					
Arts		0.43 (0.26)			0.53 (0.33)
Commerce		0.41 (0.32)			0.57 (0.50)
High School Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			1.40 (1.26)		0.76 (0.78)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.80 (0.59)		0.67 (0.55)
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.35 (0.26)		0.44 (0.33)
Graduating School Tenth					
Bylakuppe TCV				5.56 (0.00)	7.93 (0.00)
Ladakh TCV				6.58 (0.00)	7.51 (0.00)
Lower TCV				0.51 (0.34)	0.53 (0.38)
	LRX^2	88.48***	116.83***	115.39***	103.37***
146.60***					
	Pseudo R^2	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.11
					0.15

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Relative risk ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

Table 6-4 presents results for the multinomial logistic regression of odds of having a technical or managerial work on select independent variables. There are no significant effects found for any of the independent variables included in all Models except for cohort 2 variable. All else constant, graduating with cohort 2 compared to cohort 4, on average, is estimated to decrease the odds of being in the other occupation

Table 6-4: Stepwise Multinomial Logistic Regression of Employment by Type (Others) on Selected Independent Variables (N=323)

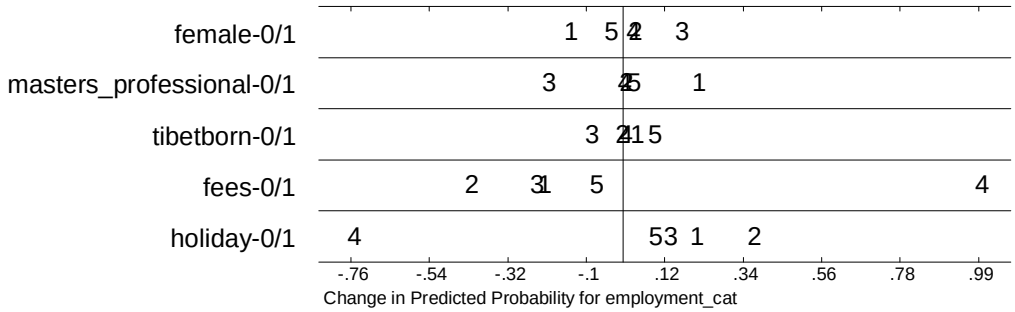
	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Technical/Managerial Work (Base Outcome)					
Others					
Female[1]	1.26 (0.60)	1.05 (0.52)	1.25 (0.60)	1.27 (0.61)	1.04 (0.52)
Master's Degree or Higher	0.59 (0.25)	0.60 (0.26)	0.52 (0.23)	0.59 (0.26)	0.53 (0.24)
Born in Tibet[2]	1.74 (1.08)	1.46 (0.93)	1.73 (1.15)	1.67 (1.07)	1.30 (0.93)
School Fees Self-paid[3]	1.69 (1.29)	2.51 (1.98)	1.51 (1.17)	2.04 (1.82)	1.97 (1.88)
Always Leave for Vacation[4]	0.97 (0.81)	0.81 (0.69)	0.93 (0.82)	1.07 (0.93)	1.14 (1.06)
High School Major					
Arts		2.28 (1.27)			2.24 (1.31)
Commerce		3.03 (1.76)			1.93 (1.24)
High School Graduating Cohort					
Cohort1 (1983-1988)			0.27 (0.25)		0.28 (0.29)
Cohort2 (1989-1994)			0.11 (0.09)**		0.10 (0.09)**
Cohort3 (1995-1999)			0.49 (0.25)		0.50 (0.26)
Graduating School Class Ten					
Bylakuppe TCV				1.11 (0.88)	0.65 (0.54)
Ladakh TCV				0.52 (0.64)	0.30 (0.39)
Lower TCV				0.53 (0.31)	0.38 (0.24)
LRX^2	88.48***	116.83***	115.39***	103.37***	146.60***
Pseudo R^2	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.15

[1]Omitted category is "male"
[2] Omitted category is "those born outside of Tibet"
[3] Omitted category is "those who didn't pay their own school fees"
[4] Omitted category is "those who stay at school during two months winter break"
*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***=p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Relative risk ratios presented and standard errors in parentheses

category as compared to having a top managerial position by 89 percent ($p<.01$) according to Model III. Likewise, Model V indicates that on average, graduating with cohort 2 compared to cohort 4, is estimated to decrease the odds of being in the other occupation category as compared to having a top managerial position by 90 percent ($p<.01$).

A discrete change plot is provided below for the variables in Model I. Being a female increases the predicted probability of becoming a teacher and decreases the predicted probability of having a top managerial work compared to male. Effects of gender on the other three employment categories are not strong. Having an advanced degree increases the predicted probability of having a managerial job and decreases the predicted probability of becoming a nurse relative to those without an advanced degree. Its effects on other three employment categories are small. Being born in Tibet has very small effects on the predicted probability of being in managerial, assistantship and teaching positions as compared to being born elsewhere. It also increases the predicted probability of having a job listed in the other category and decreases the predicted probability of becoming a nurse. Payment of school fees increases the predicted probability of becoming a nurse and decreases the predicted probability for the remaining occupation categories relative to those who do not pay school fees. Going home during vacation decreases the predicted probability of becoming a nurse and increases the predicted probability of being in the other four job categories compared to staying at school during vacations.

Discrete Change Plot



Chapter Four: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

This research examined the effects of gender on the educational choices and occupational trajectories of Tibetan refugees living in India. Generally, the study indicates that females, across all cohorts, tend to do worse than males in school, and they also have lower status jobs after school. This study is consistent with other research which finds gender differences in educational performance (Hyde and Mertz 2009; Salisbury et al. 1999) and occupational segregation (Albelda 1986; Blackburn and Jarman 2006; Fassinger 2008; Losh 2004). This study focuses on subject choices, exam scores, educational attainment and the types of employment the research group obtains after graduation.

The study points to the striking disparities in educational and career patterns between men and women within the specific research group. In terms of subject choice, the study suggests females are more likely to choose Arts compared to Science and Commerce as majors in high school, even after controlling for various other independent variables. Likewise, females were likely to score significantly lower on the twelfth grade national exam. This gender gap in twelfth grade scores was consistent throughout all four cohorts. Females were also significantly less likely to have earned a Master's degree or higher. Analysis of different combinations of males and females born inside or outside of Tibet reveal that males born outside of Tibet have the highest probability of completing a Master's degree or higher, while females born in Tibet have the lowest probability. Analyses of these three subject matters: choice of major, exam

score and highest degree attained, point to a gendered educational pattern within the Tibetan refugees in India.

Not surprisingly then, the analyses of career patterns within the same research group produce similar results. Females are significantly more likely to become government employees, teachers or nurses compared to their odds of landing a top ranking managerial or a professional position. After recoding occupations of the sample based on the ISEI occupational scores, the study indicates that females have lower occupational scores. The results further demonstrate that twelfth grade scores have a significant positive impact on occupational scores, but at any given twelfth grade exam score, males are expected to have higher occupational scores. The above results point to a clear and consistent relationship between gender and educational achievements within the research group.

The results indicate that females have both lower educational performance and attainment and occupational prestige than males within the Tibetan community, which both support and contradict the existing literature. The results support the existing literature that suggest there is gendered occupational segregation, and that men are more likely than women to choose to study science, but it strays from the literature that suggests women perform better in school (Buchmann et al. 2008). This study verifies that school performance and attainment positively impact the likelihood of securing a job with higher occupational prestige. A higher tenth grade exam score significantly predicts higher twelfth grade scores, which in turn positively impact one's likelihood of

finishing a Master's degree or higher. Those with a Master's degree or higher are then significantly more likely to have a higher prestige job.

The only conclusive cohort difference in educational and occupational tracks is concerning the twelfth grade scores. Students who graduated in later cohorts are more likely to attain higher scores on the nationwide exam. On the whole, these analyses point to the tip of the complex relationship between gender and educational achievements. This relationship needs to be more vigorously examined, which is discussed more in detail in a later section.

Regarding the reproductionist theory, the study includes gender as also a site of inequality that schools might reproduce. Due to the dearth of academic research on the current status of gender relations in the exiled Tibetan community, this study cannot confirm what roles schools play in reproducing the gender norms. Yet, the study clearly points to a gender gap in both educational and occupational achievement of Tibetans in exile, where females are performing worse than males. The results from this study can be viewed both positively and negatively.

Based on the historical gender role ascription in Tibet prior to 1959, female primary school attendance in and of itself can be seen as a leap towards gender equality. Historically, there were no female representations at the Tibetan government level, whereas now over 26 percent of government workers are females (CTA Planning Commission 2009). Thus, the current achievements of Tibetan females are a grand move towards gender equality compared to the gender role expectations of the past, as outlined in the literature review. On the other hand, the current gender gap in

achievement, as viewed from a feminist point of view, can been seen also as gender bias.

Irrespective of how the current gender achievement gap within the Tibetan community is couched, there has definitely been a shift in gender roles and norms compared to the historical gender norms. As stated in the literature review, when people migrate, they tend to be influenced by the cultures of the host nation. Minorities acculturate and/or assimilate to the norms of the majority at different levels of intensity, and the lack of academic investigation into the effects of migration on the norms of the Tibetan people limits any specific analysis of the matter. Having said that, there is no reason to doubt that migrating into India and breaking out of the self-imposed insularity prior to 1959 had a definite impact on the gender norms of the Tibetan community. This study also supports the theory that states voluntary minorities tend to perform better at schools. Researchers claimed that voluntary minorities have a positive outlook on the educational and economic opportunities in the host nation, which propels them to succeed within that educational system (Conchas 2006; Gibson and Ogbu 1991). Due to lack of data, this study could not speak to the reasons why the respondents did well in school. This high achieving group of respondents also poses serious barriers to the generalizability of the study, which are discussed below.

Limitations

Though this research points to some interesting relationships between gender and education for Tibetan refugees in India, there are some significant limitations that need to be addressed. The data, being the first of its kind to be collected on the

educational and occupational choices of Tibetans in India, is problematic in some ways. First, the respondents are disproportionately highly educated. This sample has a greater percentage of advanced degree holders than the CTA reports in the 2009 demographic survey of Tibetans living in exile. According to that report, only 3 percent of the literate Tibetan population has a graduate or professional degree. That percent would be much smaller if the respondents who did not complete the survey were also taken into account. Males account for 64.5 percent and females for 35.5 percent of the total population with advanced degrees (CTA Planning Commission 2009). The percentage of advanced degree holders in my sample was 33.75 percent. It is highly plausible that the methods used to collect this data might have introduced and sustained this bias. Since TCV relied on social networking sites and snowball method to reach respondents, it is likely that the initial group of highly educated respondents passed on the survey to others in their cohorts who are also highly educated. The artificially high educational attainment of the respondents is problematic because it limits the implications of the research findings to others who are unlike them in educational attainment. On the other hand, it is likely that the highly educated sample resulted in conservative estimates of impacts of gender on educational attainments like the twelfth grade scores and choice of high school major.

Second, as a result of the highly educated respondents, this sample also has a disproportionately high ISEI occupational score with a mean of 63.84. As developed by Ganzeboom et al. (1992), the ISEI scores range from 10 to 90, with the lowest score assigned to agricultural and animal husbandry workers and the highest score given to

judges. The ISEI occupational score range for the sample was 32 to 88. Like the artificially high educational attainment, the high occupational score is also problematic. Indeed, the samples with relatively high occupational score could have resulted in modest estimates of how gender impacts occupational outcome. Even within the high achieving sample, the results have shown that gender has a significant impact on one's educational and occupational career, where being female has a significant disadvantage.

Finally, the independent variables used as controls in the models are rough estimates of the measures relevant to the study. For example, place of birth, payment of school fees and going home during vacation were employed as indicators of socio-economic status (SES), due to lack of variables that could measure respondents' SES more accurately. Homogeneity of the respondents in terms of high achievement in education and occupation, along with lack of more accurate measures of the independent variables of interest make generalizing results from this study difficult. However, despite these limitations, this data set is the only one of its kind, providing a unique and important glimpse into the educational system of Tibetans living in exile.

Future Directions

I do not mean to simplify the enormously complex relationship between gender and education through this research. This research has added to the literature on gendered achievements by examining patterns of relationship between gender and educational accomplishments and career choices on a population that has never been studied in this context before. Based on this study, gender does have a profound impact on ones' educational and occupational career. This research suggests that females are

less likely to succeed than males in both school and career achievements. Thus a logical follow-up of this study would be to investigate the mechanisms behind this gender gap.

I used secondary data analysis for this study, and the head office of TCV provided the data. Having no creative control over the design of the questionnaires or the methods used to collect the data posed significant challenges to the implications of this study. Information pertaining to ones' socio-economic status (SES) was limited, as was the background information on respondents. Better access to indicators of SES like household income and more detail demographic information would have not only expanded the theoretical implications of this study, but also could have suggested some contributing reasons to the observed gender gap.

Further, since all the TCVs are boarding schools, it provides a unique site upon which to employ the reproductionist theory. Unlike day schools, students in boarding schools stay within the school compound and are under school rules for months on end, which could potentially amplify the schools' impact on the students' lives in many spheres. Reproductionist theory has been employed to study how schools reproduce societal inequalities, but much of the emphasis within this query has largely been to study the role of schools in reproducing race and class inequalities. Incorporating gender, as also a site upon which inequalities are reproduced, allows us to more vigorously investigate roles of schools in reproducing societal gender norms. Attempts to distinguish characteristics of schools that propel reproduction of societal gender norms will inevitably require better data on boarding schools.

Sociologists also use the phrase “self-fulfilling prophecy” to describe the phenomenon where students deliver what teachers expect of them. There is a major focus on social psychology and gendered messages that are being sent to students. In relation to education, Buchmann et al. (2008) highlights discussions surrounding student-teacher interaction based on the gender of teachers and students and how it could contribute to gender gap in education. Marianne Lafrance (1991) also focuses primarily on interactions between teachers and students, and argues that there are “messages” encoded in all these interactions. She finds that, on the whole, boys interact more with teachers than girls, and that girls tend to have more “mote days” during which girls do not interact with the teachers even once. Additionally, it is also found that using the generic word ‘he’ to refer to people of both sexes leaves listeners imagining mostly men (Silveira 1980; Hamilton 1988). The role of teachers is crucial in every students’ lives, and the manner in which teachers interact with students has a deep impact on students’ educational performance. The classroom is a miniature society where all the social forces of gender stereotypes and discrimination are still in play, although it may not be overt in its manifestations. Thus a qualitative research on classroom interactions between students and teachers within the research group would further the understanding of mechanisms supporting gendered educational achievements.

Another topic of interest to researchers is minorities’ academic performance within the educational system of the majority. Yet this line of enquiry has never been applied to the case of Tibetan refugees in India. Research work along this query in a

developing nation will add to the existing literature on educational experiences and achievements of minorities, which has mostly been based on minority groups in the west. Moreover, the process of acculturation or assimilation that Tibetans have experienced by being in exile for more than fifty years is ripe for analyses within the larger framework surrounding how minorities cope with immigration. The process and the current status of acculturation or assimilation of Tibetan refugees into the culture of the majority, or the lack-there-of, would provide further insights into how and why certain minority groups choose to comply or resist the culture of the majority.

Conclusions

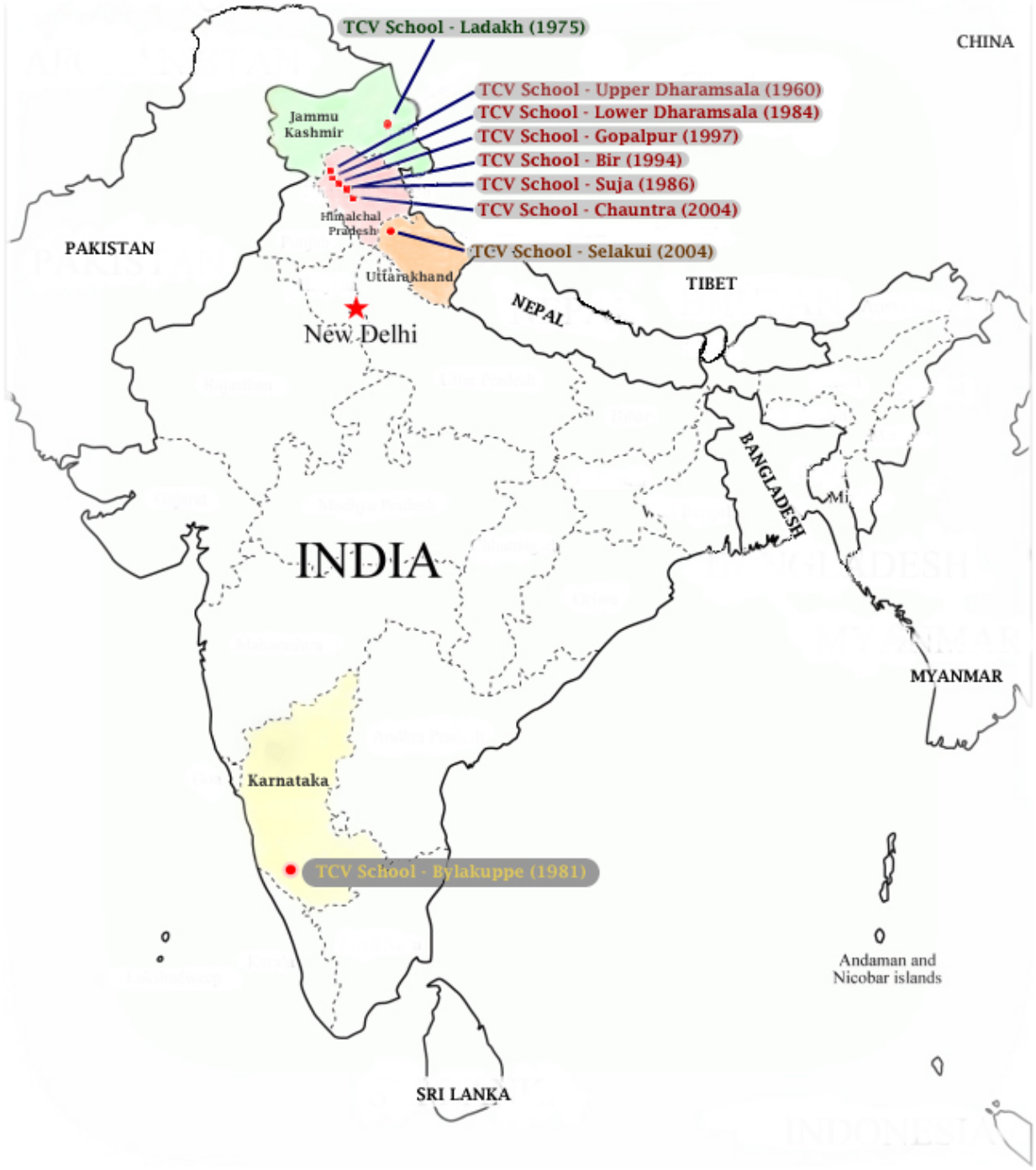
Although gender can sometimes mask the effects of other variables like SES or types of schools attended, results from this study clearly point to a gender gap in academic and occupational choices that cannot be explained by other independent variables. It is obvious from the results that the gender gap in achievement has stayed constant over time and across schools. Since, this study is the first comprehensive look at educational attainments and outcomes of a semi-permanently displaced population; it can offer a more profound understanding of the role of education for people in conflict. This research offers education policy makers a different perspective through which to (re)view their current educational policies.

This research strongly supports postmodern feminists' advocacy for a feminist critical policy analysis that examines the underlying assumptions made by the educational systems, which are then reflected in their educational policies (Wallin 1999). This approach insists on the contextual nature of all educational systems and on

the significance of taking into account the diverse intersections of race, class and gender. Applied within the realm of education, feminist critical policy analysis will broaden the horizon of the traditional educational policy analysis, which has patriarchal values and conventional gender biases embedded within them (Marshall 1997). Such a perspective does not passively assume an inclination towards gender equity on the part of school administrators and policy makers, but actively advocates analyzing educational policies through the prism of gender.

This study clearly presents evidence of gender disparity in educational and occupational achievements, but it is obviously not a conclusive study as it points to gendered patterns of achievements without providing a clear understanding of the mechanisms involved. Qualitative research studies including interviews and participant observations within the boarding school systems are essential to assess how gender disparity is reproduced within the school system. With education being the key to millions of young women and men making a better living, much has been done to ensure a better quality of education for both genders. However, especially for women, much still remains to be done.

APPENDIX A: MAP SHOWING NINE TIBETAN CHILDREN'S VILLAGE SCHOOLS IN INDIA



Appendix B:

TCV HIGHER STUDIES DATA UPDATE FORM

Individual Info Format

Documented – Not for Circulation

A} Name - …… **Gender - ……..**

B } 1} TCV Roll No - …….. 2} Class XII batch year -……..

C} Name of school at the time of completing Class XII - ……..

D} Courses you have taken *{Specify in details*}

1} Diploma/Graduate/Post Graduate/Other - ……..

2} Particular Studies – ……..

3} Name of Institute/ College –……..

4} Name of Town/City where you stayed during above studies - ……..

E} Are you employed? if so

1} Name of organization/firm - …….. Place – ……..

2} Specify your designation/category as an – ……..

3} Your email for future contact - ……..

4} Your contact number - ……..

Appendix C:

TCV ALUMNI REGISTRATION FORM

*** Former staff members can also register.**

2 *Photos Passport size*

NAME: ..... ROLL NO: ……/...../.....(*Must)* HOME NO: .....

TCV SCHOOL: ..... ADMISSION YEAR: ..... *YEAR OFJOINING (Staff)*

SCHOOL LEAVING YEAR & CLASS: (Below X)……(X).....(XII).....*YEAR OF LEAVING (Staff)*

EDUCATION / TRAINING AFTER SCHOOL: ..... *(Not necessary for staff)*

PROFESSION: ……PRESENT OCCUPATION:.....

PRESENT ADDRESS:.....

.....

E-mail:..... PHONE: .....DOB: .....

Signature: ..... Date:.....

Space for comments & suggestions:.....
.....
.....
.....

TCV HEAD OFFICE ALUMNI DESK

Membership & ID contribution receipt no:_____ ID card no:_____

Date:_____

NOTE: *(a) TCV Alumni membership-cum-Identity card contribution is Rs: 100/- Per Year for those in Sub-continent and USD: 15:00 for those in Abroad*
(b) From 2010 Onwards, TCVAA Membership Fee has to be paid Annually
**(c) The same service has been extended to the former TCV Staff if they wanted to join the Membership and enjoy the facilities.*

FACILITIES:

- *Preference on Admission of Child to TCV Schools (Conditions Apply)*
- *Can Avail TCV Health (Medical) Insurance Policy*
- *TCV Guest House Facility (Conditions Apply)*

For More Info Please Log on to: http://tcv.org.in/alumnicorner.shtml Alumni Desk: +91 1892 220240

Email: alumnisdesk@tcv.org.in / tcv_alumni@yahoo.com

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